LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

The Great Contrast

R.P.D.

Popular Democracies Today

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

Stalin's Speech

NOVEMBER, 1917

November, 1951

One shilling and sixpence

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FARTHER AND FASTER

THOSE who fought hardest during the election are exactly those who won't choose now to relax their efforts. They are judging how much farther and faster we must now go to rally all fighting for peace, independence and socialism. Such a viewpoint depends on an unshakable confidence in the British people—a confidence which was conspicuously absent from some quarters. Not, of course, among readers of *Labour Monthly,* as my postbag proves up to the hilt. Whence this confidence? One answer comes from a Scottish reader and fund contributor for many years. He explains that he realised from the first copy he saw, that it was 'worthy of the support of everyone', because of its character as the Magazine of International Labour. Now an old age pensioner forced to count every penny, he believes it 'a greater need than ever, with all the imperialist "Whitehalls" in control of the Labour movement'. Internationalism arms all against the dividing imperialist propaganda that seeks to pretend that the interests of the peoples of Persia, Egypt, China—indeed, of any country—are in conflict with the true interests of the British people. International solidarity, a first principle of our movement, often now so shamelessly ignored and denied by the 'Whitehalls', has nevertheless all the vigour of life and truth. It is a sure source of confidence, whatever local difficulties may be. Readers everywhere could echo the words of one who writes from a country where it has become 'an act of bravery not to denounce your friends'. Says this American: 'I know you rejoice with me when victories are won and the tide of darkness is pushed back a little, and it is being pushed back; that is the thing that makes life so wonderful, that in spite of all the defeats I know that we are on the side that must win'. This same spirit of internationalism inspires that group of Chinese trade unionists in Shanghai who 'eagerly seize upon *L.M.* each month'.

We turn again to the fight for circulation, not only to maintain it, despite the burden of the new price, but to push it on—farther and faster. In the Third Division, at the end of this column, I list each month one or two of the best achievements in building circulation that I hear of. Now comes an interesting offer from a Staffordshire reader, who belongs 'to the low income group', and finds his 4s. a week increase in sick pay more than outbalanced by rising prices. Yet because he can no longer contribute financially, he doesn't leave it at that. 'It has been stated in the good old *L.M.* that old comrades simply can't go without it; that's a fact, because I have been reading it since 1922, so I should know. But it's also a fact that you can't get your learning for nothing, and so should make some sacrifice to keep up to date. For 20 years I have had a cherished volume, the *Handbook of Marxism.* This splendid work is in good condition, fit to grace anyone's bookshelf. I'm sending it for you to award as a prize to the best sales got either by an individual or a group'. Here's a chance, not only to earn an invaluable book, but a copy with many years' struggle behind it—another link in a bond that can't be broken. It shall go to the person turning in the

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Notes of the Month

The Great Contrast

The first Bolshevik Revolution has wrested the first hundred million people of this earth from the clutches of imperialist war and the imperialist world. Subsequent revolutions will save the rest of mankind from such wars and from this world.

LENIN, 'The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution', 1921.

THIRTY-FOUR years ago the first victorious socialist revolution changed the world. Since then that change has sped forward, until today one-third of humanity has chosen freedom. Lenin's 'first hundred million' have become eight hundred millions. Russia—China—Eastern Europe—soon all East Asia. And now the Middle East is in movement. The flame of popular upsurge in the Middle East has cast its warning light across the general election. In vain Tory and Labour leaders seek to cast the blame on one another. It is the cracks of the old crumbling imperialist structure that are showing through; and no party of imperialism can paper over or conceal those cracks, neither by force, nor by guile. Whatever the

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outcome of the election, the future in Britain does not rest with the obsolete and discredited leaders who still seek to build on the basis of imperialism, and who can only stumble from disaster to disaster. The future rests with that political leadership which can respond to the new conditions and show the way forward to Britain's future in the new world.

Two Worlds

Never was the contrast between the old world and the new so sharp as on this thirty-fourth anniversary. It is revealed above all in the supreme question of peace or war, in the contrast between the frenzied rearmament drive and the drive for peace. It is revealed with especial force today in the solution of the national question in the Soviet Union, at the same time as the revolt of subject nations is shaking the whole structure of the imperialist world. It is revealed equally in the sphere of home conditions and living standards, with the rocketing prices and lowered standards in all the countries of the American orbit, alongside the fourfold reduction of prices and soaring standards, up to 62 per cent. above pre-war last year, and more by now with the new all-round reduction of prices, in the socialist sixth of the world—so much so that the Tory and Labour leaders are left quarrelling with one another as to which country is suffering from the worst rise in prices, and remain beautifully united in pretending that the land of socialism, whose example knocks all their statistics to blazes, does not exist. It is revealed most powerfully in the whole sphere of economic advance, with the staggering bankrupt economy in Britain, the soaring deficit in the balance of payments, and the sacrifice of plans for productive development in favour of concentrating all resources for destruction, at the same time as the Soviet Union is engaged in carrying through a giant productive advance without parallel in economic history and fulfilling audacious projects of new construction which leave the biggest previous feats of capitalist economy (Panama, Suez, Tennessee Valley, Sukkur Barrage) pigmies in comparison.

Peace or War

In the midst of the election Stalin's declaration on the atom bomb sounded the call for the banning of all atomic weapons, and for renewed negotiations to achieve this aim and establish international control 'to terminate production of the atomic weapon and to utilise already produced atom bombs solely for civilian purposes'.

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No country has more reason to support and press for such prohibition than Britain. No country is more vulnerable. Even *The Times* editorial, recognising the Soviet plan as 'not inherently unreasonable' and 'more easily achieved', given the will to international co-operation, than the American pseudo-plan, pleaded that the call should be heard:

> No past discouragement, even now, should dissuade the Western Powers from entering into any renewed negotiations that may be proposed.
> (*The Times*, October 8, 1951.)

Not a single party leader of the dominant parties in the election dared to respond to that call. Not one dared voice Britain's interests. Why? Because the voice of their masters across the ocean was sounding at the same moment a very different note—a note of such unbridled Hitlerite war frenzy that even the pro-American *Economist* on October 13 was constrained to speak of 'events in Washington for which madness sometimes does not seem to be too strong a word'. In the contrast between these two outlooks is expressed the contrast between two worlds today.

Voice of Barbarism

What was the Voice of America in contrast to Stalin's call for peace? On September 4 President Truman opened the San Francisco Conference for rearming Japan and making Japan an American military base. He chose the moment of his inaugural address to this Conference for an alleged 'Peace Treaty' (actual new aggressive war alliance) to vaunt before the assembled delegates from countries all over the world American possession of 'fantastic new weapons' capable of destroying civilisation. The very terms of the boast recalled the old familiar Hitler boasts of Nazi Germany's possession of 'new wonder weapons' to crush any enemy. On September 20

> President Truman told a press conference today that the United States was relying on force rather than diplomacy in its dealings with the Soviet Union. (*Manchester Guardian*, September 21.)

When asked by a tactful press correspondent whether he did not mean by this that 'the other fellow has to use force first' he snapped back that that was not what he had said.

Dropping the Mask

On October 5 the head of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Gordon Dean, announced the development of 'new atomic weapons'

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and proclaimed for the first time as official American policy that atomic warfare would be regarded as normal warfare:

> Because of our great technological strides we are now entering the era when the quantities of atomic weapons available to us will be so great and types so varied that we may utilise them in many ways not heretofore possible. . .
>
> I think that, when a situation arises where in our carefully considered judgment the use of any kind of weapon is justified, we are now at the place where we should give serious consideration to the use of an atomic weapon provided it can be used effectively from the military standpoint.

He further indicated that, while the 'concept of atomic warfare' by 'striking at great cities and industrial hearts of an enemy nation' was 'still true', it was 'no longer the whole truth', since the United States was now preparing to use many additional forms of atomic warfare. The old pretences of American representatives at the end of the war to join with the representatives of other nations in regarding the atomic weapon as a criminal, barbarous and inhuman weapon to be outlawed (with the real intention to maintain it concealed behind the delaying strategy of the Baruch Plan) are now abandoned. The mask is off.

Hell-Bent for War

The truth must be faced, and is even beginning to be realised in quarters far removed from the left. American policy is directed completely and openly for war—far more completely and openly than ever was Hitler's. All the pieces in the pattern—the arming of Western Germany and Japan, the offensive bases, the line-up with Franco, the drawing in of Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia, the concentration on atomic weapons, the hysteria at any suggestion of peace or lessening of international tension—only fit into this strategy of a planned aggressive war. The initial pretence of 'rearmament for peace', 'rearmament only for defence against aggression'—the smokescreen still used to blind the sight of the European pawns, who are scheduled to be thrown into the cockpit—is beginning to be contemptuously thrown aside in American expression. In the frank words of the *Economist* of October 6:

> In large measure, the present American programme is designed for fighting Russia, not for staying at peace by deterring a Russian aggression.

With these words the whole official case for the rearmament programme is exploded. The smoke-filled eyes of the destined victims are beginning to discern dimly the outlines of the monster to whom they have sold themselves.

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New 'Mein Kampf'

All the hearings of the MacArthur Enquiry revealed inescapably, not the rejection of his aggressive aims, but the calculation of a different strategy. Not only General Bradley's objection to 'the wrong war at the wrong time at the wrong place against the wrong enemy' implied the conception of 'the *right* war at the *right* time at the *right* place against the *right* enemy'. Equally President Truman's message to MacArthur on January 13 laid down:

> *Pending the build-up of our national strength,* we must act with great prudence insofar as extending the area of hostilities is concerned.

Thereby President Truman made public his intention that, once 'the build-up of our national strength' is completed, it will not any longer be necessary 'to act with great prudence' in 'extending the area of hostilities'. Hitler never declared himself more clearly. Similarly Senator MacMahon:

> What I am trying to say is that now is the time, it would seem to me, to stop, look and listen and see where we are before we plunge into a course that may take us over the precipice *before we are ready.*

In other words, once 'we are ready', the time will arrive to 'plunge into a course that may take us over the precipice'.

Warmongering in the Open

In the light of these official declarations from the highest ruling quarters in the United States, it is no matter for surprise, and no question of unrepresentative lunatic ravings, that the best-seller publicist of the third world war in the American literary market, James Burnham, should lay down brazenly the principles of American policy in his latest book, 'The Coming Defeat of Communism', and that this book, so far from being repudiated as an outrage, should be boosted on all the American bookstalls with all the resources of the gigantic American publicity machine:

> There is only one possible objective of U.S. foreign policy: the destruction of Communist power. . . The overthrow of that (Soviet) régime is the supreme objective of United States policy.

And again:

> Politically we have the right and necessity of being against any régime, against it to the extent of fighting and destroying it, insofar as it endangers our own security and our basic interests.

And again:

> If I want war and you want peace, what is there for us to confer about?

Here in a nutshell is the case of the champions of rearmament and

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opponents of negotiation. We saw in Nazi Germany what a hell-brood this kind of literature nourished.

The evil game is being repeated on a larger scale. Can any sane human being, no matter what his political outlook, who compares these outpourings with the sustained, continuous and unparalleled campaign for peace in every single publication and utterance in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, fail to recognise the contrast between two worlds—the world of civilisation and human decency and the world of barbarism and human degeneration?

Ottawa

It is in the context of these strategic aims that the decisions of the Ottawa meeting of the Atlantic Pact Powers in September, and the immediately preceding Washington exchanges of Acheson, Morrison and Schuman on speeding German rearmament, and of Snyder and Gaitskell on financial and economic questions, need to be seen. The full purport of these decisions has been obscured from view in the smoke of the election. Yet these decisions are of staggering import for the future of Britain and the prospect of war. September, 1951, will remain a fateful landmark in the plans for war. Not only did it see the San Francisco four-day ratification (under a gagged procedure) of the American decision to make Japan a military base. Not only did it see the completion of the plan to force rearmament on Western Germany under the familiar Hitlerite disguise of a 'European Army' (the very term borrowed from Hitler). Not only did it see the decision to draw Turkey and Greece into the oddly named 'Atlantic' War Pact. Ottawa revealed the new American demand to raise still further the already crushing rearmament programmes imposed on the unhappy European satellites.

New American Orders

The extent of this demand has been concealed from the British public for the duration of the election. Even Gaitskell only made a single vague and anxious reference on his return. While the electoral controversy surged around the £4,700 million rearmament programme (itself a figure imposed by American insistence, like the previous £3,600 million figure, without participation of parliament), no mention was made of the fact that the American masters already regard this figure as obsolete and inadequate. The 'sovereign' British elector, confined for his diet of information to the strictly controlled ration of news of the British official press and radio, was not allowed to know, what has been freely printed in the American

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press, that General Eisenhower has demanded a 33 per cent. increase in the rearmament programmes of the European satellites by 1952.

Panic of the Satellites

No wonder that the *New York Times* correspondent on September 19 grimly commented on the results of Ottawa:

> Nothing is more evident here (in Ottawa) than the general awareness that the N.A.T.O. decisions are essentially American decisions.

No wonder the same journal on September 23 reported 'consternation' in Paris over the results of Ottawa, and described how French official representatives

> viewed the results of their negotiations as a prelude to new political frictions and to a desperate struggle with inflation in the months to come. . . (They) view their present situation with consternation and are doubtful whether France can keep her promises without additional aid.

No wonder the unhappy Gaitskell on his return from Ottawa stated on September 25 that increases in the arms expenditure were 'under consideration' (observe the stammering apologetic vagueness of the shame-faced messenger boy, and compare it with the firm, clear and precise 'American decisions' of the *New York Times* report), and went on to bleat with the pathos of a sheep under the butcher's knife:

> I am bound to say that I cannot see how we in the United Kingdom can do more than we have promised and are carrying out—the £4,700 million programme—unless there were to be a radical change in the economic policies of all the members of N.A.T.O. involving something much more like a war economy, both internally in each case and in their relations with each other.

No wonder even the slavish *Economist* on October 13 found itself compelled to record 'a dangerous state of alarm and despondency' among the American satellites in Europe over the antics of Washington, and continued:

> Behaviour in Washington has been of a kind that could be expected to disillusion and repel the allies whose willing co-operation the United States needs and should be able to rely on.

Turning the Screw

Vain bleatings. Uncle Shylock Snyder, in the intervals of issuing tactful little reminders every few weeks that the first payments of interest and amortisation on the 1945 loan are due to begin at the end of this year, turned a harshly negative ear to the pleas of in-

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solvency of the European Finance Ministers. Herbert Morrison might boast proudly to the Scarborough Labour demonstration after his return from San Francisco:

> In San Francisco, although a representative of a Labour Government, I was received on absolute equality with the Foreign Ministers of other countries.

To this level has a British Foreign Minister now descended that he is grateful and even bursting with pride not to have been sent by his American masters to the servants' hall. But our Simple Simons Herbert and Hugh, for all their kind reception, brought back no more tangible result than Moses' horn spectacles—or the promise that a meeting of 'Three Wise Men' in Paris would consider the financial dilemmas of the unhappy satellites. Mr. Secretary Snyder made clear, according to the *New York Times* of September 23, that

> he believes much of the trouble has stemmed from a 'business as usual' attitude by most countries taking part in the rearmament effort. He has not directly mentioned welfare programmes in Britain or housing programmes in most European countries except in talks with the U.S. delegation. What he has said to the Finance Ministers is that . . . there is room for retrenchment in most European budgets and that the time has some to face a few politically unpopular decisions.

With this tune buzzing in their ears Herbert and Hugh had to return home to the election.

Twisting the Lion's Tail

Nor can this American attitude to Britain—with an obvious eye cast on the election—be separated from the parallel United States rôle in relation to the dilemmas of British imperialism in Persia. The sudden collapse of the British Government's initial high and mighty attitude to Persian aspirations, after all the parade of armed force, abrupt breaking off of negotiations, insistence on 'legal' rights, emphatic pledges never to withdraw, and contemptuous references to Moussadeq's approaching fall, to the final hasty exit was not due to a sudden conversion to the principles of pacifism and anti-imperialism, as they now seek to claim. It was due to three factors. First, the strength of Persian national feeling and the Persian mass movement, which British Intelligence had as usual underestimated with its cocksure calculations of following the customary method of buying up corrupt deputies and establishing a pliant Ministry. The second factor was the protecting rôle of the Soviet-Persian 1921 Treaty, which stands guard over Persian independence against foreign armed aggression and thus proved a mighty shield

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for peace. But the third factor was undoubtedly the ambiguous (in reality, hardly even ambiguous) rôle of the United States, which, under cover of profound expressions of sympathy, proved itself not averse to assisting the discomfiture of British oil imperialism at the hands of Moussadeq.

A One-Way Alliance

In vain Britain's political leaders sent out their S.O.S. appeals to the sacred principles of the Anglo-American alliance for the maintenance of imperialism against anti-imperialist subversion. In vain they pointed out how Britain had faithfully backed with blood and votes American interests in Korea and now required a similar service in Persia. They failed to realise that the relationship of satellite and overlord is not a relationship of equal allies, and that the alliance works one way only. Where American interests are involved, then the sanctity of international law, civilisation, the Charter, property-rights and what-have-you is paramount, and every satellite is expected to jump to instant obedience for action. Where American interests point in a different direction, the picture alters. American political leaders took a large and statesmanlike view of the problem, simultaneously advised both Britain and Moussadeq to be more moderate and less obstinate, provided free of charge some kindly avuncular lectures on the misdoings of Anglo-Iranian, and warned against precipitate action.

Blood, Oil and Water

With ill-concealed fury British official expression swallowed the insults, kissed the boot that spurned them, and learned the lesson. But the snarls showed through the continued protestations of undying devotion to the American alliance:

> The American attitude has been unhelpful. . . Some publicity has been given in Washington and elsewhere to the idea that some other oil company should be encouraged to enter Persia—talk in which it is difficult not to suspect an ulterior motive (City Editor, *The Times*, October 2).

> It will be galling for Britain to have to negotiate once more, after having declared that negotiations with Dr. Moussadeq were at an end. But no alternative is in sight. The American attitude has stiffened greatly in the past two weeks. It was partly the firmness of its absolute veto on the use of force which caused the British front against Moussadeq to collapse so suddenly. (*Observer*, October 7.)

> Imperceptibly, the whole character of the case has changed since the British Government brought it to the Council ten days ago, to a point

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where Persia now tends to be in the stronger position. American efforts, concerned for the destiny of the oilfields—with what altruism is a matter of doubt in some quarters—are concentrated far more on a negotiated settlement than on the legal merits of the British case. (*The Times*, October 8.)

Blood may be thicker than water; but oil can be thicker than both.

Munich Memories

The old Munichite organ, the *Sunday Times*, unwisely revived memories of Munich:

> Abadan is with the sole exception of Munich the worst defeat suffered by Great Britain during the present century in the sphere of foreign affairs. We have lost everything that was at stake. . .
>
> In some ways it is a lower humiliation than Munich itself; for there our discomfiture was inflicted by the then greatest Power, and we were not the only Great Power to suffer it. Here we have swallowed the cup of shame at the hands of one of the weakest nations in the world, and we have swallowed it alone.
>
> (Scrutator in the *Sunday Times*, October 7.)

Not so fast. The true analogy is closer than the writer realises. Munich was the path of appeasement of Nazi German imperialism in the name of the holy anti-Soviet cause; and Hitler took advantage of the appeasement to turn his offensive against the British Empire. The modern Munich is the path of appeasement of American imperialism in the name of the holy anti-Soviet cause; and American imperialism is taking advantage of the appeasement to press forward its interests at the expense of the British Empire, first in the Far East, and now in the Middle East. But the betrayal of Czechoslovakia was the denial of national rights. The claim of the Persian people to nationalisation of their oil industry is the vindication of national rights—even though their path of advance to full emancipation from all imperialism has still to be completed. It is piquant to see the old Munichites recall Munich with shame. But they recall it only to cling the closer to their modern Munich.

Britain's Dilemma—And the Lesson

The parties of imperialism and dependence on America have brought Britain to the extreme of weakness. Only new relations of friendship and alliance with the colonial peoples, on the basis of national independence and equal rights, and friendship and co-operation with the victorious anti-imperialist one third of the world, can ensure for Britain strength, independence and prosperity, in

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face of the pressure of American imperialism. Instead, they have chosen the path of hostility and conflict with the colonial peoples, and with the anti-imperialist one third of the world, and cling to subservient dependence on the American masters. In the outcome, the American masters are using their subservience to rob them of their Empire. At the same time the pressure of American demands, the trade bans, the rearmament programme and the new demands for still further increased rearmament, are ruining Britain's economy. The deficit on the balance of payments is reaching new record heights. Neither Tory nor Labour Imperialism can offer any solution. The time has come to advance to a new policy. The triumphant constructive advance of the countries of socialism and people's democracy provides the practical demonstration of an alternative policy and what it can achieve. Whatever the character of the Government to be formed after the election, the battle of the Labour movement and of the people of this country must go forward for a new policy which shall correspond to the aims of peace and the national independence of Britain and create the conditions for tackling the grave economic and social problems of the British people. The battle of the election is only the preparation for this fight after the election.

October 15, 1951. R.P.D.

The Editor of LABOUR MONTHLY *will be very glad to receive contributions in the form of finished articles or of suggestions and data for articles. The customary proviso must be made that no responsibility is undertaken for manuscripts sent to him nor can he promise to enter into correspondence regarding contributions not accepted.*

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ON THE MORROW OF THE REVOLUTION

J. V. STALIN

(On the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, we print, in a translation specially made for 'Labour Monthly', Stalin's first public speech in the days immediately following the seizure of power. He spoke as fraternal delegate at the Congress of the Finnish Social-Democratic Workers' Party in Helsingfors, November 14, 1917.—Ed., L.M.)

Comrades!

I have been delegated to greet you on behalf of the workers' revolution in Russia, which is shattering the foundations of the capitalist order at their roots. I have come to you to greet your Congress on behalf of the workers' and peasants' government of Russia, on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars, born in the fire of that revolution.

But it is not merely to bring you greetings that I have come. I would like, first of all, to pass on to you the joyful news of the victories of the Russian revolution, of the disorganised condition of its enemies and of the fact that in the atmosphere of expiring imperialist war the chances of the revolution are growing day by day.

The shackles of landlordism have been broken, for power in the village has passed into the hands of the peasants. The power of the generals has been broken, for power in the army is concentrated in the hands of the soldiers. A curb has been put on the capitalists, for workers' control is speedily being established in the factories, mills and banks. The whole country, town and village, rear and front, is studded with revolutionary committees of workers, soldiers and peasants, who are taking the reins of government into their own hands.

They tried to scare us with Kerensky and the counter-revolutionary generals; but Kerensky has been driven out, while the generals are besieged by the soldiers and Cossacks, who are also supporting the demands of the workers and peasants.

They tried to scare us with famine, prophesying that the Soviet power would perish in the claws of a collapse of food supplies. But we had only to curb the speculators, we had only to appeal to the

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peasants, and grain began to flow to the towns in hundreds of thousands of poods.*

They tried to scare us with disorder in the State apparatus, sabotage by officials, etc. We ourselves knew that the new Socialist government would not be able simply to take over the old, bourgeois State apparatus and make it its own. But we had only to set about the renovation of the old apparatus, to purge it of anti-social elements, and sabotage began to melt away.

They tried to scare us with the 'surprises' of war, possible complications coming from the imperialist cliques in connection with our proposal for a democratic peace. And, indeed, there was a danger, a mortal danger. But it was after the capture of Oesel†, when the Kerensky government was preparing to flee to Moscow and to surrender Petrograd, while the British-German imperialists were making arrangements about peace at the expense of *Russia*. On the basis of *such* a peace the imperialists, indeed, could disrupt the cause of the Russian and, perhaps, the international revolution. But the October‡ revolution came in time. It took the cause of peace into its own hands, it struck the most dangerous weapon from the hands of international imperialism and so protected the revolution from mortal danger. The old wolves of imperialism were left with one of two alternatives: either to submit to the revolutionary movement that is flaring up in all countries, by accepting peace, or to wage the struggle further on the basis of a *continuation* of the war. But to continue the war into its fourth year, when the whole world is suffocating in the grip of war, when the 'imminent' winter campaign is evoking a storm of indignation among the soldiers of all countries, when the filthy secret treaties have already been published—to continue the war in such conditions means to doom oneself to obvious failure. The old wolves of imperialism have miscalculated this time. And precisely for this reason the 'surprises' of the imperialists do not scare us.

They tried to scare us, finally, with the dissolution of Russia, its dismemberment into numerous independent states, and hinted that the right of nations to self-determination, proclaimed by the Council of People's Commissars, was a 'fatal mistake'. But I must declare most categorically that we would not be democrats (I do not even speak of Socialism!) if we did not recognise for the peoples of

* 1 pood equals 36 lbs.

† Oesel and other islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Riga were occupied by a German expeditionary force at the end of September, 1917.

‡ At that time Russia was still using the old style calendar, 13 days behind that used in other countries. Thus November 7, new style, was October 25, old style.

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Russia the right to free self-determination. I declare that we would be betraying Socialism if we did not adopt all measures for the restoration of fraternal confidence between the workers of Finland and Russia. Everyone knows that without firm recognition of the right of the Finnish people to free self-determination, to restore such confidence is inconceivable. And what is important here is not only the verbal, even if official, recognition of that right. What is important is that this verbal recognition will be confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars in practice, that it will be put into effect without wavering. For the time for words has passed. The time has come when the old slogan 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!' must be put into effect.

Complete freedom to arrange their own life for the Finns as also for the other peoples of Russia! Voluntary and honest alliance of the Finnish people with the Russian people! No tutelage of any kind, no supervision over the Finnish people from above! Such are the guiding principles in the policy of the Council of People's Commissars.

Only as the result of such a policy can mutual confidence among the peoples of Russia be created. Only on the basis of such confidence can the rallying of the peoples of Russia into one army be carried into effect. Only as the result of such a rallying of the peoples can the achievements of the October revolution be consolidated and the cause of international Socialist revolution be advanced.

That is why we smile whenever we are told of the inevitable collapse of Russia in connection with putting into practice the idea of the right of nations to self-determination.

These are the difficulties with which enemies have tried to scare us and are still trying to scare us, but which we are overcoming as the revolution develops.

Comrades! Information has reached us that your country is experiencing approximately the same crisis of power as Russia experienced on the eve of the October revolution. Information has reached us that they are trying to scare you also with famine, sabotage, etc. Permit me to tell you, on the basis of the experience drawn from the practice of the revolutionary movement in Russia, that these dangers, even if real, are by no means insuperable. These dangers can be overcome if you act firmly and without wavering. In the atmosphere of war and disorder, in the atmosphere of the revolutionary movement blazing up in the West and of growing victories of the workers' revolution in Russia, there are no

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dangers and complications that could withstand your onslaught. In such an atmosphere only one power, Socialist power, can maintain itself and conquer. In such an atmosphere only one kind of tactics is of use, Danton's tactics—audacity, audacity, and again audacity.

And if you need our help, we shall give it you, fraternally stretching out our hand to you.

Of this you may rest assured.

Pravda, No. 191, November 16, 1917.

GLIMPSES OF POPULAR DEMOCRACIES

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

On the thirty-fourth anniversary of the new Soviet civilisation, it is interesting to look at its much younger neighbours, the popular democracies.

They combine wide variations of development with fundamental resemblances arising from the application of Socialist principles to the problems of transition from capitalism. Each in her own way is facing and mastering difficulties, rejoicing in success, and building pretty rapidly her own new Socialist civilisation.

One's first general sensation is the inspiring one, of sweeping progress—illustrated, for example, by Hungary, where the first year of a carefully-calculated Five Year Plan produced results so greatly surpassing the estimates that all the important targets had to be revised upwards for the succeeding years. The calculators had failed by far to take into account the upsurge of released human energy.

What lies at the root of such progress? What enables the peoples to work and create so well? To my mind, it is their realisation that power has passed from the old ruling groups into the hands of the working-class and the progressive sections of the peasants. One feels a sense not just of working-class power, but of physical, mental and spiritual liberation, a sense that the remarkable developments one sees in town and country alike are the creation of conscious workers. The feeling is almost as clear and intense in those countries where there is still a bourgeoisie, and still plenty of trade

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in private hands, as it is in those where there is really no bourgeoisie left.

The bourgeoisie can still constitute a nuisance. The remnant of reaction, on which our British Press, so sensitive to 'freedom', lavishes its affection, and this remnant's friends in American and other Embassies and Legations, remain active in sabotage. But the sense of popular power remains intact. 'These elements', one citizen told me, 'are to be watched, not feared. They can delay us, but they cannot gain ground. We have to be vigilant, but we can even afford to be lenient with them when we catch them'. Yes, the working masses are in power, and no bankers, industrialists or warmongers, home or foreign, will dislodge them.

One feels, naturally, that much of the success is due, in each country, to the united working-class party which has led and is leading the mass in making each advance and meeting each difficulty; and one sees the vast benefits arising from the unity of Communists and Social Democrats (achieved in the teeth of agitated missions from the West). It is easy, with such workers and peasants, and with such parties in the leadership, to go forward in warm faith in the mass; to make mistakes; to meet unexpected difficulties, human or material; to criticise failures, remedy mistakes and conquer difficulties; to increase production and invest in new industries, forgoing more rapid improvements in standards for the sake of ultimate progress; to introduce the invaluable stimuli of socialist competition, of workers' inventions and initiative, and all the other encouragements that increase wealth and enrich the human spirit wherever society truly owns its own industries.

All these countries have large peasant populations; and the variations between them are perhaps greater in agriculture than in industry; the systems of land tenure and of cultivation, the stages already reached in collectivisation, the power and attitude of kulaks or other large peasants to the new developments, differ greatly. But there are once again fundamental similarities. Everywhere enough has already been done, by land distribution and other developments, to make even individual peasants more prosperous than they were. Everywhere the drive for collectivisation takes the form not of force but of persuasion, the most cogent persuasion being of course the prosperity of the collective farm, due in the main to the fuller use of machinery and the more efficient application of scientific methods that are possible with collective cultivation.

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The next point of interest lies in the relations between the popular democracies and the Soviet Union. Western imperialists are used to the exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial territories; they have always taken care to prevent such territories developing major industries of their own, to make them buy whatever one wants to get rid of rather than what they need, and to draw as much profit from them as possible for as long as possible. These imperialists must be puzzled when they see how the U.S.S.R. and its neighbours get on together. For in this new world of non-imperialism the big state gives the small ones the help they want, help which directly benefits the latter in the widest and fullest way. A bad harvest in Rumania? Well, the Soviet Union had a bad one too, that year; but still it sent Rumania hundreds of thousands of tons of *wheat*, not maize. 'Pay for it? No, just return the same amount of wheat when you have a good harvest'. A need to increase one's independence by building up heavy industries? 'Yes', says the Soviet Union, 'you ought to do that. We ourselves need all the plant we can make, to equip more and more heavy industries, but we must and will spare equipment for yours; give us goods in exchange'. Farming problems? 'Good, send a few hundred of your farmers—individual farmers among them—to our country and they shall see everything we have done and are doing; and we will send you big delegations of our farm people to look at your land and your stock, and see what advice they can give'. Cotton for textile mills? 'Don't pay out hard currency for cotton', says the U.S.S.R.; 'draw what you need from our fields in Central Asia, and pay us with some of the cloth you weave from it'. Rumania's *Scanteia* wants printing machinery? Here it is, fresh from the Soviet Union, better than any so far installed there, since it is newer; and with it goes a big repair shop, with spares, so that the Soviet suppliers won't even make any money out of spares and repairs. Building a canal on the Danube? Well, the Soviet Union is doing far more excavation at the moment than all the capitalist world put together, and can use all its own machinery, but it lends its neighbours a number of its best excavators. 'We'll get on without them somehow; we know this canal will enrich your country'.

It is scarcely surprising that the democracies speak with warmth of the benefits they get from this friendly help, and that the age-long hostility to 'Russia' in some of the countries, melts into ever-growing understanding and friendship as Soviet experience and material aid help the peoples to solve their problems in their own Socialist way.

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The popular democracies' exchanges of visits—cultural, educational, technical and holiday—are not confined to the Soviet Union; they extend to all the neighbours. In each country you find visitors from the others—and from further afield too. I counted one day, in one hotel in Bucharest, delegations from eighteen different countries, including Britain and other distant civilisations. There are Chinese students at Rumanian Universities, and Rumanians at Chinese. In Budapest I asked the Institute for Relations with Abroad if it felt a gap after the departure of the 80-strong Korean youth ensemble; it replied that there would not be a gap for long, as 280 Chinese were arriving the next day!

Cultural development is remarkable in all the countries. Liberation and literacy, as in the Soviet Republic, give a great impulse. English books, old and new, are translated and widely read. The workers on the Danube canal construction, mostly peasant youths and girls, have clubs, libraries, exhibitions, dances, concerts, theatres and cinemas—and sports grounds and swimming beaches, too. Some of them said that they wanted to write something themselves about the epic of the new construction 'because the professional writers don't quite catch the spirit of the men and women on the job'! They were put in touch with the professional writers, to discuss their problems and see whether some of them ought to be given scholarships to try their hand at writing.

And culture includes a wide knowledge of what happens in foreign countries, and a curiosity leading to embarrassing questions for Western visitors. Their newspapers report serious facts from home and abroad. They are rather sober in appearance, and as full of statistics as some of our weekly papers are of pornography; and they are as free of pornography as some of our papers are of facts. Books and pamphlets are printed in huge editions, on paper which is freely available; they are sold cheap, at a profit! Writers make a living, and are as honoured as skilled workers.

I have left the topic of peace until a late stage of this article, because all the other topics are linked with and dependent on it. To all these democracies, whether or not they were materially shattered in the war like Poland and Hungary, the maintenance of peace is the condition of life. They understand war, and hate it. The need of peace, to get on with their job, calls to you from every new street or factory or house, from every furrow or farm track and byre. The great peace campaigns are unremitting, thoughtful, and enthusiastic. Collectors of signatures can be counted in the

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scores of thousands; 'and we don't think it is enough just to get the signatures; we talk to the people to be sure they know why they are signing, and what it all really means'. If there ever were a 'will to aggress', it must be completely destroyed by now.'

Thus do the popular democracies strike me in 1951, when they are about six years old. But I would add a word about a neighbour of theirs, 'Eastern Germany', that is, the German Democratic Republic and the Eastern sector of Berlin. Here, as one moves about among the people, and watches in particular the youth—the youth of just that half-generation that we thought to be irrevocably Nazi-poisoned and lost to democracy—one gets much of the atmosphere of a people's democracy. Decent, quiet, normal people, working hard to build a new country, competing to give their best production—building for example in four months a huge sport-palace for the Youth Festival which would ordinarily have taken eighteen months or two years. Decent people, growing friendly to the Soviet Union in spite of years of concentrated poison-propaganda operated uninterruptedly and viciously by the Nazis, the Americans and the British. They have a long way to go, it may be; for they not only have a half-country to rebuild, but have to prepare for union with the West, a West now growing in resentment against America, against rearmament, and against the Nazi revival, and losing much of the carefully-fostered anti-Soviet feeling. To make the longed-for union of all Germany possible, they must somehow contrive that the differences of economic structure between the two halves of Germany shall not be too great! And yet they must keep on the path to Socialism. The whole picture of Eastern Germany presents one more deeply-moving proof of the infinite resilience of mankind, the indestructibility of human decency; one rejoices once again to be alive. One of the Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, an old Social-Democrat, said to me: 'In 1945 I came back from a concentration camp to Berlin. I looked at the ruins and I thought: Well, I must join with the Communists in working and working until I drop, to make my country fit for the next generation to live in, and to make the next generation fit to live in it. I am sixty years old, and it is a very long task; I shall never see any results myself. But I must work for it just the same'.

'And now, Mr. Pritt, it's only 1951, and I am seeing results, am I not?'

He is seeing them, and so can we all.

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ERNST THAELMANN'S LETTER FROM PRISON

We print a letter of Ernst Thaelmann, written in reply to letters from a fellow-prisoner in Bautzen in January, 1944. This heroic document, published in 'Neues Deutschland' of October 21, 1950, has been specially translated for this magazine.—Ed., L.M.

My dear Socialist fellow-sufferer and revolutionary comrade-in-arms!

When I read your lines I wished that I could hear your voice, feel your being, sense your character. That is a very difficult thing to do, requiring talent and long careful study of human psychology. I shall then speak to you bluntly and without reservations, in language which should come natural among brothers, friends and revolutionary fighters. Such language is political and graphic; it is hard and rugged, yet it is permeated with the deepest affection and great warmth, and it is truthful. For there is such a thing as historical truth, that is, the necessary accord between ascertainable fact and its presentation. There is such a thing as political conscience, which demands that this truth be served. The truth cannot in the long run be falsified, for nothing is more inexorable than facts. Always remember that our conscience is clear and clean; we stand before the toiling German people with a conscience which is not tarnished by war crimes, imperialist predatory policy, tyranny, terror, dictatorship and the outraging of conscience, infringement of freedom, arbitrariness, pseudo-Socialism, fascist racial theories, philosophies of the Rosenberg type, arrogance, haughtiness, boasting and so on. We are clean and unstained. If only for this reason, we cannot admire this world, and certainly cannot become enthusiastic about it, but oppose it with the clear, brave spirit of our firm and purposeful outlook, and with our criticism which is healthy but merciless and sharp.

Of course, we are not pure and innocent angels either, without any fault whatsoever. We, too, in the past, committed serious and sometimes great political mistakes, overlooked and failed to do many things which, in the complicated tangle of historical events, we ought to have done in order to bar the way of fascism to state power. We recognised our mistakes, by self-criticism openly acknowledged them, rectified them and entered upon new paths in the spheres of policy, propaganda and the mass struggle. But since we

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never were represented in the German Government, and the more so since we were not the sole ruling party, our guilt before the German people is less serious, is extenuated. This fact and much else, in particular our ceaseless sacrifices in the fight against fascism, is and remains a great credit to our policy and won us confidence. To do justice to the stature of a political person, one must judge him not only by what he has achieved but also by what he aimed to achieve. He who wants to master destiny, to point new paths for his epoch to pursue, who wants to lead his people to a better future, who feels he has a task and avocation to fulfil and sets out to kindle his spiritual flame in others, challenges a world of incomprehension, of rejection, of hostility. For the only thing that makes sense in life is struggle!

Unfortunately, in 1933, the great majority of the German people still did not understand us. By passing through the school of fascism they began to alter their earlier attitude. In the new process of transformation of their earlier ideas, they have begun to pay attention to us and our point of view. Considerable parts of the German people have by now been cured of National Socialism. That part of the German people that had been on the left or was regarded as being inclined to the left has confidence in us and in our Party and hopes for a better German future as the Socialist Soviet Union drives forward and advances further. That is the situation today, and who can tell what will happen in Germany tomorrow?

It is a small world indeed in which we are shut up. We use our imagination to make up a picture of the whole big world without being able to experience it directly. I often reflect on how narrow life is here compared with the life of those enjoying sweet liberty. The loneliness of years behind bars, the soul-killing prison environment, the four naked walls and the years of isolation make temporary attacks of depression and cries of despair inevitable. When I think of everything that has already taken place in my prison existence I involuntarily close my eyes. One is indeed lucky not to lose one's bearings, not to become a corpse before one dies. . . But if we look into each other's eyes, listen to our inner voice, measure the strength of our spirit—then we feel the power of clarity, the irresistible force of spiritual greatness and in particular the confidence of conviction which always lifts us from this oppressive, barren and almost desperate prison atmosphere.

What magnetic effect is exercised on persons isolated here in prison by the invigorating power of belief in a cause. It is precisely

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this firm foundation which gives a person support, spiritual courage, strength and steadfastness in all difficult vicissitudes of life. In our memories also the past is revived—but to serve the future and not merely in a contemplation which regards the past as though it were done with forever. . .

And now I suppose you want to know something of my life in prison. It would take more than a sizable volume to describe fully the different experiences and events, and I will therefore pick out merely certain episodes and the main facts and tell you about them.

On March 3, 1933, I was arrested in Berlin in the room I rented from a disabled ex-soldier where I generally stayed when I came to Berlin. An Emergency Squad of Police consisting of 20 men headed by a lieutenant, all brandishing revolvers, broke into the flat and then rushed into my room. The lieutenant was calm and collected, but the men were very nervous and excited. I was handcuffed, rushed by car to the nearest police station and from there with a special squad to the Berlin Polizei Presidium on Alexander Platz. A brief interrogation, but I made no statements. I had to wait there for five hours. Finally I was taken to a cell in the police prison there. . .

From there I immediately addressed a written application to the Procurator-General of the Reichs Supreme Court (Reichsgericht) requesting that the investigation of my case be accelerated since I was not aware of having committed any punishable acts. I took this step to prevent transfer to a concentration camp. This succeeded. On May 23, 1933, I was transferred to the Remand Prison, Berlin, Old Moabit. Two-and-a-half years in prison on remand, interrogated in the course of this time by four examining judges, sometimes daily for more than ten hours. All the most important materials of the Party centre, as well as other materials of the Party and its organisations which were to be used as evidence against me were produced and I had to give my opinion on them and my explanations. All my speeches and articles were dragged in, meetings of the Secretariat, Politbureau, Central Committee and other conferences, important rallies and demonstrations at which I had spoken—all this became the subject of interrogation. And finally the whole Policy of the Party, its work and organisational activities, countless documents and pamphlets which had been published by the Party, were thoroughly examined—and sometimes forged or fabricated material produced by spies was slipped in. . .As leader of the Communist

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movement I upheld all decisions of the Central Committee of the Party as well as of the Communist International and accepted full responsibility for them, at the same time not only resolutely rejecting all attempts to make me mention, i.e., betray, the names of Party personalities and Party functionaries, but acting steadfastly and in accordance with duty. Notwithstanding all kinds of tricks and lies the examining judges never succeeded in trapping me, in making me a traitor to my comrades-in-arms or to the cause of Communism. Sometimes it led to unpleasant scenes and violent arguments in the course of which it became necessary to adjourn the interrogation. After the failure of the examining judges to trip me or force me into incriminating admissions, they had recourse to the Gestapo.

* * *

In January, 1934, four Gestapo officials fetched me by car and took me to the Headquarters of the Gestapo, Berlin, Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse. From the car I was taken straight to a room on the fourth floor where I was received by eight Gestapo officers of medium and higher rank who raised their fists in the 'Red Front' salute.

To describe what took place in that room during the following four-and-a-half hours, from 5 to 9.30 p.m., is almost impossible. Every imaginable brutal method was used against me to try and extort from me at all costs confessions and information about comrades who had been arrested and about political action. First to be tried was the method of friendly familiarity—I knew some of these gangsters from the days of Severing's Political Police—with attempts at persuasion, and so on, to try in the course of these conversations to find out something about this or that comrade and other things of interest to them. This manœuvre failed. Then followed brutal physical violence, in the course of which I had four teeth knocked out of my jaw. They still failed. The third act was the use of hypnotism, which was completely ineffective and broke against my then still very strong nervous system. Although the hypnotist performed his manipulations for about threequarters of an hour while I had to kneel in front of him on the floor, I remained perfectly calm and fully conscious.

In this way three and a half hours passed and I could not see a good way out. But the climax of the drama came in the last act. I was told to strip, two men grabbed me by the neck and laid me across a stool. A uniformed Gestapo man then started to whip me at regular intervals with a heavy whip made of hippopotamus skin. The pain made me cry out loud several times.

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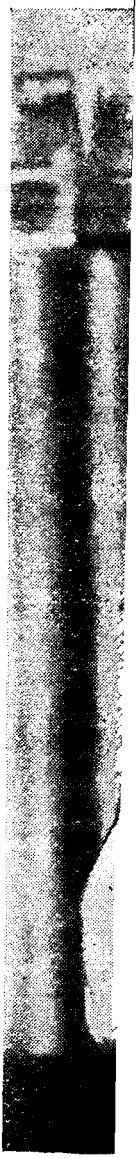
Portrait of Er



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ERNST THAELMANN, born in 1886, a transport worker of Hamburg, joined in 1920 the Communist Party of Germany in which within a few years his unfailing devotion and fighting energy brought him to the leadership. In 1932 he polled over five million votes as candidate in the presidential elections. In the spring of 1933, a few weeks after the Nazis set fire to the Reichstag, Thaelmann was arrested by the Nazis who kept him in prison for eleven years before they murdered him in August, 1944.

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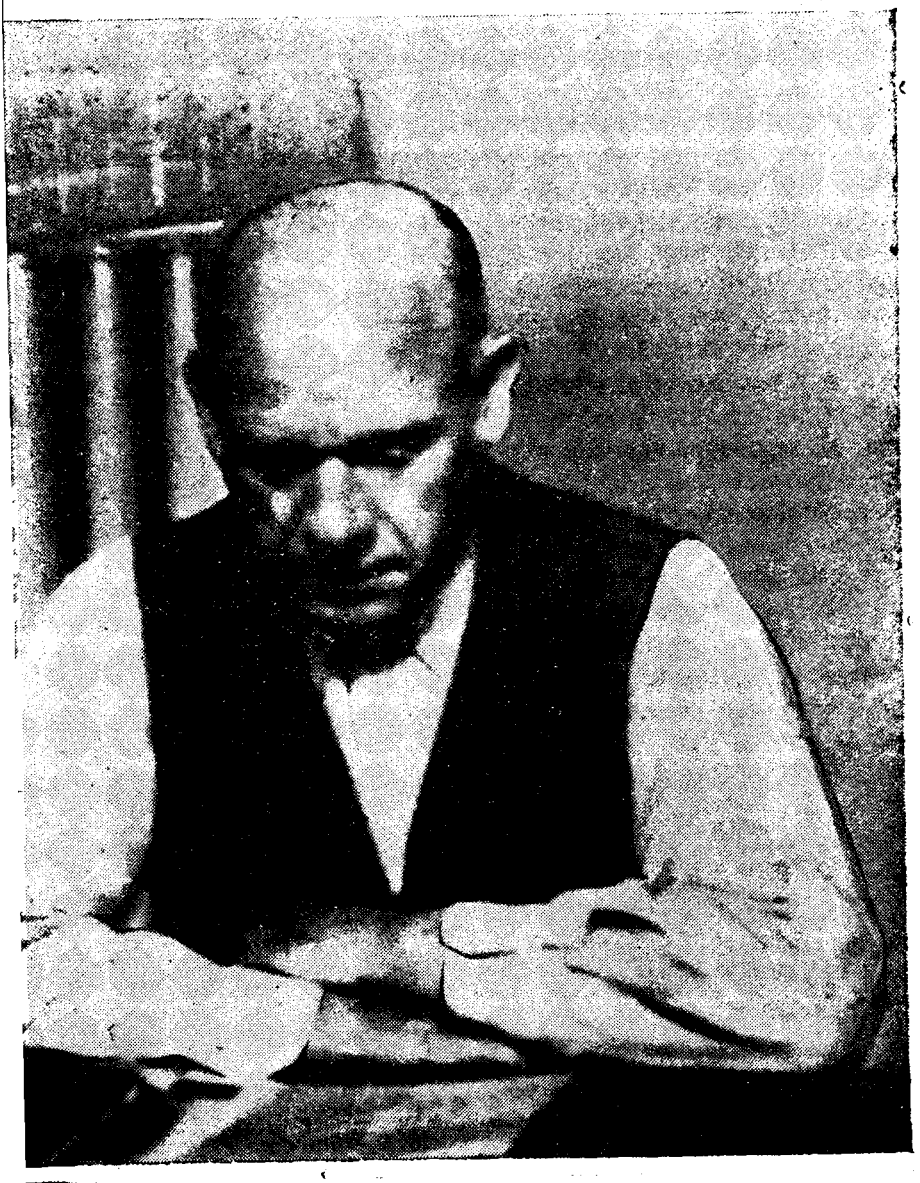
ıst Thaelmann



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Then I was gagged and the blows rained down on my face while at the same time I was whipped across my chest and back. I fell, rolled on the floor, face downwards and not answering any of their questions. They kicked me; I kept trying to hide my face but I was exhausted, my heart began to give in and I no longer heard or saw anything. Besides, I was so tormented by thirst that foam was coming out of my mouth and I almost suffocated. Although in a half-faint I still did not lose consciousness, but neither did I any longer feel pain and all I thought of was how to end this torture.

Suddenly a man came running into the room and said in a whisper that the charwomen and other people in the building had heard the loud cries. He asked them to put an end to it. At 9.30 in the evening the executioners ended their fun. They put a towel round my bleeding head and a muffler round my neck and ordered me to sit down on the stool and face the wall. Two Gestapo men trained their revolvers on me and threatened to shoot the moment I turned round. Of course, I turned round immediately to see what those fellows were going to do to me next. But nothing more happened. They phoned the waiter of the canteen who brought them something to eat and drink; he looked at me with pity and bitterness. After that I was dragged into the lift and locked into a cell in the basement. After eight days and again 48 hours after that, I was interrogated once more in the same room, in the presence of only two or three officials. As I did not change my tactics I was threatened that if I carried on in the same way they would not shrink from repeating the same tested method until I thought better of it.

* * *

Shortly after this I was taken back to Moabit, escorted by four Gestapo officials who had been present when I was beaten. During the journey one of the brutes was brazen enough to threaten me that if during my trial by the Reichs Court I mentioned my experiences they would get me out of the Court and take me to a place where I would be silenced forever. I listened without saying anything, but thought that if such a chance should present itself I would certainly not miss it. When my warder in Moabit took me in, he whispered: 'Thaelmann, what a sight you are—what on earth has happened to you?'

Almost the whole world, and many people in Germany, too, learned about the drama that had taken place in the Gestapo headquarters. Abroad, rumours gained currency that Thaelmann had been murdered. The Hitler ringleaders were forced to get together

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all sorts of delegations to show them Thaelmann alive in Moabit gaol. Amongst these delegations was one composed of representatives of various parties in the Saar region where the plebiscite was about to be held. The whole comedy was organised in such a way that I did not come into any contact with the delegations, which were always accompanied by Gestapo officials and representatives of the examining judge. Nevertheless, in the case of the Saar delegation, I managed to shout to the Gestapo men: 'You know quite well that I was dreadfully maltreated in your place and you were present'. But already the delegation was being jostled out and that was the end of it. Throughout the period I was in prison on remand, from the moment of my arrest until I was handed the indictment, there were frequent delegations of all kinds—foreign journalists, lawyers of world fame, Count Rosen of Sweden, various personalities from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, the United States, and others. Once a delegation of over 50 world-renowned lawyers came to Moabit.

After about six months I was handed the 260-page indictment. During the period I was on remand the so-called 'People's Court' was set up in Berlin, to take the place of the Reichs Court which would normally have tried me. My case was referred to the new Court. Two lawyers, one from Hamburg, whom I had chosen, and the other from Berlin, assigned to me by the authorities, were at my disposal during the latter period of the preliminary examination. A third lawyer from Dortmund agreed to be present at the trial.

The indictment was a tissue of lies and concoctions and its very foundation would have been shattered within the first few hours of the trial. On four basic and main counts of the indictment I would have taken the offensive and appeared not as the defendant, but as the accuser of the prosecution which had concocted this monstrous web of lies. . . On the basis of the indictment itself I would have accused them, and convicted them, of miscarriage of justice, unscrupulousness, lying, brutal maltreatment and treachery. Not only would they have suffered ignominious legal defeat, but they could not have escaped a political fiasco.

During the preliminary investigation, the judges prudently avoided so much as even a mention of the Reichstag arson frame-up. Why? When the whole diabolical business is viewed in its true light, you will understand.

Neither was our 'Programme for National and Social Emancipation', issued during the general elections in 1930 with the slogans

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for 'Freedom, Socialism, Work and Bread' and for a 'Free and Socialist Germany', brought into the preliminary investigation, nor a lot of other material damaging to the Nazis.

But what the prosecution deliberately omitted, I would have brought out during the trial. I had already submitted a list of over 200 witnesses from all over Germany, of whom only a few were subpœnaed during the preliminary investigation—mostly those who, even though unwittingly and without bad intentions, had in some way or other incriminated me. In addition, I intended to demand at the trial itself the calling of further witnesses for the defence, and there were also the witnesses from abroad I had applied for. . .

In the course of time a Thaelmann Defence Committee was set up abroad; it was composed of prominent personalities from almost every section of the world public, including high church dignitaries. This Committee assumed at the time considerable international importance, exercising great influence on world public opinion, both as regards the preliminary investigation against Thaelmann and the coming trial, and the Hitlerite authorities found themselves compelled to deal with the subject of the Thaelmann trial in two leading articles in the German press. These articles, signed by such eminent jurists as the Attorney General Dr. Werner and Prof. Dr. Grimm of Essen, dealt exclusively with the question of the enemies of the State in the Thaelmann trial, and with the legal aspect, stating that no obstacles would be placed in the way of Thaelmann's defence. This tied the prosecution's hands and greatly facilitated my legal position as regards preparing my defence.

It goes without saying that all this was possible only because the year was 1935. By 1938 a trial of such importance and with this juridical basis would have been utterly inconceivable. This comparison brings out clearly the changed conditions due to the aggravation of the internal situation in Germany. In high politics, as often in the processes of human society, it sometimes happens that one side wants to hasten things too fervently while the other side is not only afraid of them but would regard it as a political misfortune if they were to take place. And these are precisely the reasons why the trial did not, to my great disappointment, take place. I was not to experience the joy of this enormous legal spectacle. Our Party and my friends also regretfully had to miss the triumph which it would have brought about unquestionably.

[*This abridged letter to be continued*]

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SERMON IN ST. PAUL'S

A Sermon preached in St. Paul's Cathedral by the Rev. Stanley G. Evans, M.A., Licensed Preacher of the Diocese of London, on September 23rd, 1951.

'Perfect love casteth out fear'. I John, iv, 18.

FOR the third successive Sunday evening you are to be addressed on the subject of peace. And what could be more appropriate in the chief Christian building in London? What could be more appropriate in any Christian building at any time? What could be more appropriate now when at this very moment men and women and children are being slaughtered in Korea, in Malay, in Indo-China, than at this moment when the bayonets are plunging, the bombs are dropping and the Napalm is searing human flesh into unbelievable agony and horror?

What, indeed, could be more necessary at this solemn moment when the world is divided into hostile camps, and propaganda, re-armament and what is called the stockpiling of atom bombs, prepare the way for the third world war? When Japan and Germany, the very nations it was thought necessary only a few years ago to fight to disarm, are to be rearmed to take their places in a new and bigger holocaust?

This is neither the time nor the place to analyse any of these things. We need only to mention them to confirm at once the rightness and the necessity of discussing—peace. It is fantastic that any follower of the Prince of Peace should even think of apologising for discussing peace. Yet we have to face the fact that peace has ceased to be a popular or a respectable subject of discussion even in Church, and therefore supposedly Christian, circles. Anybody who would talk of peace is asked whether he is not 'playing into the hands of the Communists', whether he is not taking part in a 'phoney peace-crusade', whether he is not assisting those who would weaken his own country. Just as some years ago the notorious Dr. Goebbels said: 'When I hear the word culture I reach for my gun', so today there are all too many who when they hear the word 'peace' demand only an extra appropriation for armaments.

The reason for all this is a simple one. We are afraid. Partly we are afraid of world war, but far more we have allowed ourselves

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to be made afraid of the profound social transformations which are gripping China, the whole of Asia, the East of Europe, the social change that has already transformed that collection of countries which are properly called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We have become afraid of the social change which, in one form or another, knocks at the door in every country in the world, as black men and brown men and yellow men assert increasingly the ending of white domination, as workers demand what they regard as justly theirs. We have become afraid, nearly mortally afraid, of communism. Almost we are afraid of peace itself—as a leading American newspaper put it not long since: 'Sudden peace would cause havoc to business'. Nothing is perhaps so completely frightening as fear itself and the phrase which completes the words I have quoted as a text, 'Fear hath torment', is profoundly and utterly true. Certainly if our present fears are not controlled and mastered they will lead us to the most fearsome war of all time.

Who is it that will fight? Of that nobody has any doubt. It will be a war of what is called the West against what is called the East, a war of the United States of America, Great Britain and others against the Soviet Union, China and others.

From this follows one simple and inescapable fact. To make peace we must make friends with Russians and Chinese and Poles and Czechoslovaks and Hungarians and Bulgarians and Rumanians and Albanians. And it is precisely at this point that our fears betray us. All of these peoples are led today by Communists. Communists are regarded by definition as the devil. We are told from all too many quarters that they refuse to be friends. If we even question this we run the risk of being called 'fellow-travellers'. And, of course, we are afraid of that. So we abandon the attempt without having even begun it.

I know that it is not popular to talk like this. But it is the simple truth and you and I, if we consider ourselves Christians at all, must face the awful responsibility that is ours if we do not assert ourselves to transform this situation before it is too late. It is not my purpose tonight to discuss the controversial subject of Communism but there is one point regarding our approach to it which needs to be made. It was an Archbishop of Canterbury who said in January, 1942:

> We have something to learn from Russia in the bold and far-seeing planning of economic resources for the good of the community.

Later in that same year a report was issued by the Commission of

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the Churches for International Friendship and Social Responsibility which said this:

> The importance of Russia lies not merely in the vast population and resources governed by the Soviet, but also in the fact that under the forms and methods of Communism a régime has been created in which the rights and needs of the common man are prior to the rights of property. The extent of this achievement, not only in the economic but also in the social and cultural spheres, can hardly be exaggerated.

At the end of the next year a report of the International Friendship Department of the British Council of Churches, after saying that 'some features of the Soviet order are open to criticism', went on to say 'the greatness of the Soviet achievements should be willingly acknowledged'.

Why do I remind you of all this? Because we seem to have reached the position of putting forward as 'Christian truth' only what is popular at a given moment. Does all the press talk of the greatness of Russia? Then we Christians will provide moral reasons for supporting that approach. Does all the press talk of the evil of Russia? Then we will give moral reasons for endorsing that. And it will not do. We cannot go on expecting people to look to the Church for any guidance at all unless we can teach a higher level than this.

The Quakers have put us all to shame. Believing that Christians must stand for peace they have sent their representatives to Moscow to talk to Russians in the flesh. We all of us know in our hearts that they are right. That God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth. That the Church is to be led 'into all truth' and not just a servile following of newspaper propaganda. That Christianity itself stands or falls by the essential solidarity and unity of the whole human family. That just as it was the wickedly heretical Samaritan who was 'brother to him who fell among thieves' so, whether we agree or disagree with the theories of other peoples, the duty to try to achieve real brotherhood with them remains.

In other words, one thing that Christians must demand in the present situation is that we all go back to the Charter of the United Nations which was solemnly signed by countries with different social systems, each of which acknowledged the right of others to their own social system and promised that they would each practise tolerance, the one to the other.

But surely Christians must go further. We are not pledged to

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tolerate divergent systems—we are pledged to love human beings, Russians and Chinese and Hungarian as much as American and Australian and British. What have we done to put this into effect? Can we say with any integrity at all that in the last few years a tithe of the effort has gone into loving and understanding other peoples that has gone into making atom bombs? Month after month appeals for peace have been made to us by the various Christian churches in Russia, in Czechoslovakia, in Hungary, in Rumania and elsewhere. That they have gone unanswered is not the fault of rank and file Christians who have rarely been given the opportunity to read them because in most cases the Church press does not publish them. But what are we to say to the one given to the last appeal of the Orthodox Patriarchs, the answer of the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches? 'For the World Council of Churches to seek to join with other great Churches outside its membership in a general peace appeal now is not a practical policy'.

To talk peace with other Christians is not a practical policy!

This is not a matter of party politics. It is not a matter of ecclesiastical differences. It is, at this moment of world history, the supreme test of the reality of our Christian faith. Would the Russian Orthodox Church talk peace with Western Christians, or would the Hungarian Calvinists, whatever Church it may be—then we have one simple and obvious duty. It is to talk peace with them now and at once.

At this moment, whether some Christians like it or not, one of the biggest popular campaigns of history is taking place. All over the world hundreds of millions of people are signing petitions calling on the Five Major Powers to sign a pact of peace. Organised Christianity in this country has decided not to support this campaign. Its symbol, a dove bearing an olive branch, is, we say, no longer ours.

So be it. But in that case our responsibility to talk now with the Christians in the Eastern countries we shall otherwise soon be fighting, to see whether we can find any way whatever to use the enormous power and influence of world Christianity for peace, and not for war, is inescapable.

Just think of the difference we could make. If we invited leaders of Russian, Rumanian, Hungarian, Polish, Czechoslovak, yes and Chinese, Churches to come to this country not only to try to hammer out with our church leaders a common programme for peace

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but also to talk to church meetings all over the land to explain their own position. If we asked for delegations of clergy and laity to visit those churches and find out for themselves how they lived and what they were thinking. If we offered to meet those church leaders anywhere in the world to devise a common programme for peace. By such simple acts we might well transform the entire world situation. Surely, if we bore any love to our brethren at all, we should cast off our fears and do this.

It has been said: 'Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend'. At this moment we are not asked to make this supreme sacrifice. We are not asked to make any sacrifice at all, we are asked only to talk to other Christians. World peace can be saved. Both our children and the Russians' children and all the other children can be saved. And at this moment nobody can do more to save it than the great mass of Christian people.

But to do it there must be an assertion of democracy in church as well as in State. You and I, ordinary rank and file Christian people, have the same right and the same duty, to express ourselves within the church and influence its policies as we have within the state. Let us, therefore, leave this Cathedral tonight, deeply resolved that the appeals of our brethren in the East shall go no longer unanswered, that we shall assert ourselves in the name of the God of peace to see that a new bond of unity is forged between the Christians of East and West, a bridge across which the nations of the world may walk to that long-sought land of peace.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

THE 'RED FLAG'

The Margate Conference ended in a significant way. The chairman, after a tearful reference to his defeat, called, according to plan, for 'Auld Lang Syne' lest worse befel, and this was sung, Mr. MacDonald adding his tuneful voice to the performance; then from the body of the hall came the strains of the 'Red Flag', and this was taken up generally by the Conference, but Mr. MacDonald stood mute and mum. He would no doubt have sung the loyal and Constitutional anthem 'God Save the King', but on no account the English revolutionary hymn.

From Liverpool to Margate by Dr. Robert Dunstan, November, 1926.

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A GREAT AMERICAN

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN

EIGHTY years ago, not long after British working men by threat of violence had secured a first small extension to them of the right to vote, an American visitor attended a meeting of workers in Hyde Park to protest against a Bill establishing a pension for a Royal prince. It was addressed by George Odger, then secretary of the London Trades Council, and by George Shipton, who succeeded him in that office in 1872. The American noted in his journal:

> These meetings will gradually organise a public sentiment against the existing order of things, but its force is feeble at present. The merchants, capitalists and middling men keep clear of these meetings because their sympathies are on the other side. Such meetings as these show the weakness of the republican element in English society. When the time comes, if it ever does, the working men will have to rise upon the merchants and traders as well as the aristocrats and push them out of the way in one body. . . There is a good deal of intelligence among these working men, and they are quite certain to persevere; but they have a mountain on their shoulders, and their efforts will come to naught for long years ahead. Slight reforms they will win, leaving untouched the great abuses interwoven with the very structure of the monarchy.

The writer of this keen analysis of English society, and of its development for years to come, was the great anthropologist, Lewis Henry Morgan, later (in 1877) author of *Ancient Society*—the book of which Engels wrote that it was 'one of the few epoch-making works of our time', and of its author that he 'in his own way had discovered afresh in America the materialistic conception of history discovered by Marx forty years ago' (preface of 1884 to *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*). Some extracts from Morgan's journal of his travels in Europe in 1870-71 were published in the United States before the war,* and it seems appropriate that, on the eve of the seventieth anniversary of Morgan's death (December 17, 1881), readers of the *Labour Monthly* should see how accurately this previously unknown source confirms the truth of Engels' judgment.

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*'Extracts from the European Travel Journal of Lewis H. Morgan', edited by Leslie A. White. Reprinted from vol. XVI of the Rochester Historical Society 'Publications', Rochester, New York, 1937. The passage about British working men is on pp. 376-7. Prof. White records his regret at having to omit much of great interest through limited space.

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This is the more desirable because one of Morgan's few biographers, B. J. Stern, writes that he was 'a conventional middle-class "first citizen" of the middle decades of the nineteenth century', who 'never for a moment doubted but that capitalism was the best system'. Certainly Morgan practised law, made a lot of money by promoting the building of two railways, and was proud of the expanding commerce and industry of the United States. In the third quarter of the nineteenth century America answered to the description given by Engels (letter to Florence Wischnewetsky, June 3, 1886):

> A country, *rich, vast, expanding,* with purely *bourgeois* institutions unleavened by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat. Here everyone could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means, for his own account. And because there were not, *as yet,* classes with opposing interests, our—and your—bourgeois thought that America stood *above* class antagonisms and struggles.

Morgan, too, was a religious man, and struck a page out of *Ancient Society* because his friend, a local parson, pointed out that it played into the hands of sceptics.

Yet his biographer, even if ignorant of the prophecy in Morgan's journal, himself describes* how, at the age of 28, Morgan exposed and got quashed a 'treaty', already endorsed by the United States Senate, by which a land-grabbing company had fraudulently secured huge tracts of territory from the Iroquois Indians—buying ten chiefs' votes at $30,000 each, getting others to sign while drunk, arranging fake tribal elections, etc. The *conventional* 'first citizens' of America's heyday as a country of non-monopolist capitalism took an active part in such characteristic robberies: they did not fight to expose them. The biographer knew also of the magnificent closing passage in *Ancient Society* which Engels adopted to end his own book, in which Morgan prophesied that 'the time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property. . . A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past'.

> Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes.

* B. J. Stern, 'Lewis Henry Morgan'. Chicago, 1931. pp. 17-18.

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It was of this passage that Engels wrote, in a letter to Kautsky (February 16, 1884), that Morgan 'concludes, in relation to contemporary society, with directly Communist demands'.

Here was no conventional believer in capitalism except in relative terms. And the journal already cited gives us fresh and incontrovertible evidence of it. On June 14, 1871, while still in London, Morgan set down his opinion of recent bloody events in Paris:

> I have no doubt whatever that the Commune, the principles, objects and acts which make up its history, have been unjustly condemned, because not justly understood. They may have committed actual crimes at the last moment in the extremity of their desperation, when quarter was refused them as a condition of surrender, and have adopted erroneous ideas, and made great mistakes before that; but in the main they were honest men, with patriotic aims. . . It is a singular fact that the English press from day to day urged on the Thiers government to press the capture of Paris, and thus put an end to the Commune, assuming that the latter was wholly in the wrong, and knowing the butchery that was to follow. A working man's government finds no sympathy in aristocratic England.

When Morgan arrived in Paris with his wife, he found nothing to change his opinion. Of the demolition of the Vendôme Column he wrote:

> The Commune, it seems, overthrew it because it honoured the military achievements of the French, and was a monument of the barbarism of War. This characterisation of the Wars of Napoleon is much nearer the truth than mankind are as yet willing to admit.

Although thinking it was a mistake to burn the Tuileries, 'as the badge of their servitude to kings and a privileged class', Morgan had to confess that 'I cannot entirely withhold my sympathy from the motives which prompted the acts of the Commune in this regard'. He found the Commune's mark upon all the public buildings and churches of Paris, 'and it is not a bad one'.

> They caused to be cut in conspicuous places in the stone in large letters the words 'Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité', certainly a glorious assemblage of words, embodying ideas of the very grandest import. . . They should have written on the churches Domination, Fanaticism, Degradation, and on the palaces Despotism, Inequality, Selfishness. Such a characterisation would have come nearer to the truth.

Morgan wrote of the shooting of the Archbishop of Paris:

> Bishops and priests do not believe in democracy, and probably will never be brought to a saving knowledge of its graces. . . The bishop and priest are always found on the side of the privileged class, fully believing that if the common people get bread and salt they ought to be thankful

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and satisfied. . . It is not particularly remarkable that the people in the recent civil war struck down the Tuileries and the Archbishop of Paris, and contemplated the destruction of the churches. The two interests have committed more crimes against the best interests of France than the Commune, a thousand times over.

We may suitably conclude with Morgan's reflections on leaving Paris (June 27 or 28, 1871):

One thing is becoming plainer with each and every day, namely that the commercial classes are soon to take all governments into their hands. As governments have now become mere instrumentalities for the creation and protection of property, the interest which is chief must in time assume absolute control. Divine Right will give way to Commercial Right. Along with this tendency we notice another, namely, that commercial men, as soon as they get money, become aristocrats, and give their influence, such as it is, on the side of privileged classes. When their day is over, the turn of the people will come. Among European nations it is evidently very distant.

Morgan was right. The turn of the people only came on November 7, 1917—and in a country where he surely did not expect the working men to be the first 'to rise upon the merchants and traders as well as the aristocrats'. Yet in the month which forever commemorates that great event we can do worse than recall this great American materialist historian of the origins of society, whose independent researches gave him so brilliant a foresight of its future.

MEDITERRANEAN RIVALS

MALCOLM CARR

FROM the eighteenth century onwards, Britain, by the possession of Gibraltar and Malta, has had the dominating influence in the Mediterranean. This dominancy has in the past been contested by Italy, France and Germany and indeed, during the Second World War, Britain lost command of the Mediterranean and her supply ships had to make the 12,000 mile route round the Cape. But this lasted for less than two years. With the allied landing in North Africa she regained her position, and has subsequently held it until today.

Now the threat to Britain's position in the inland sea comes from the United States. The rivalry between Britain and the U.S.A. for

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control of the Mediterranean has been the root cause of one of the most prolonged and bitterly fought diplomatic battles between the two 'allies' that has taken place since the war. It is still not completely settled, and the history of this conflict sheds a lurid light on the internecine struggle now convulsing the war-camp, where the U.S.A. insists on its word being law and where the suppliants of U.S. aid are forced to toe the line.

Since the end of the war, the U.S. has attempted by every means, political, economic and military, to extend its influence in the Middle East and indeed in every country upon the Mediterranean seaboard. The aim of this policy has been two-fold. Firstly there was the attempt to include in the U.S. network of bases round the world, the priceless strategic oil-producing area of the Middle East. Secondly there was the attempt to oust Britain from her own previously exclusive domain and reduce the British position to that of a U.S.-paid police force. British physical occupation of the Middle East was seen as an invaluable asset to U.S. aims. It saved the U.S. keeping her own soldiers in the area, it served to maintain 'order', and most important, it drew all the opprobrium that occupation troops suffer in the areas over which they hold sway.

As U.S. influence grew, Britain made intense efforts to salvage her reducing strength and to counter U.S. moves. The wildest schemes were tried out by both sides. The U.S. tried to rebuild the anti-Soviet Saadabad Pact of 1937—this time to unite Persia, Turkey, Pakistan and Afghanistan in a bloc against the U.S.S.R. The State Department toyed with another idea—of a Pan-Islamic block from Morocco to Indonesia—financed by the dollar. Britain, in her turn, worked for a 'Greater Syria' or 'Fertile Crescent' plan which was to merge Jordan, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon under the late Emir Abdullah of Jordan. There was another scheme to set up a joint Jordan-Iraq-Syria Army under British control. None of these or other such 'political' schemes have so far reached fruition.

In the military sphere, however, the U.S. has not allowed the grass to grow under her feet. In a comparatively short time, the Mediterranean has been organised for war by the Americans. Examine the evidence. It is no longer a secret that the U.S. is negotiating with the Fascist Franco for bases in Spain—despite 'protests' in London and Paris. Work has already begun on vast air bases in Morocco, where some 20,000 U.S. airmen are to be stationed. The enormous African hinterland is to contain a network

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of bases. In Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece airfields are being built and extended to take U.S. long-range bombers. Corsica, Sardinia, Pantellaria, Malta, Crete, the Aegean islands, Rhodes and Cyprus are all the scene of feverish military activity. Airfields are being built in all those places, under the general direction of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation headquarters in France.

In the Middle East, itself an area which Britain has dominated for so long, and in which Britain has maintained bases in Egypt, Iraq and Jordan for decades, the U.S. is demanding facilities for their own aircraft and airmen, or negotiating separate military arrangements or other aid schemes, which have the effect of undermining Britain's position as well as extending U.S. influence.

During the last few months the Americans have been trying to organise the whole of the Mediterranean area in one command or treaty organisation under a United States Commander-in-Chief. This Mediterranean bloc would in the U.S. conception be aligned with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. The C.-in-C. would in the final resort take orders from General Eisenhower and the Atlantic Pact headquarters—S.H.A.P.E. In this bloc Turkey and Israel were to have key positions as the two countries in the area most amenable to U.S. orders and influence.

The idea of a Mediterranean bloc immediately confronted the Americans with considerable difficulties. (1) The peoples of the Middle East were by no means agreeable to aligning themselves in a bloc with the new war-camp, and made their feelings known in various ways, by demonstrations, by ' neutralism ' in the bourgeois parties, by signatures for the Stockholm Appeal and the Appeal for a five-power peace pact, and by other means. In Egypt and Persia, the people's desire to rid themselves of all imperialist entanglements is manifest. (2) The British imperialists took fright at the accession of so much power to the U.S. in a hitherto exclusive British preserve. Moves were made to counter the steps taken by the Americans. The Foreign Office sent Mr. Geoffrey Furlonge, the head of its Middle Eastern Department, on a tour of the Middle East to counteract the influence exerted by his U.S. opposite number George McGhee on a similar tour about the same time. When U.S. Air Secretary Finletter undertook a trip to inspect air-bases in Turkey, the British sent Sir Frank Whittle on a tour of all British Middle East air bases. Another significant move

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was the appointment of Sir John Troutbeck, a former head of British Intelligence in the Middle East, as Ambassador to Iraq.

At the same time there began in Washington a series of high-level military and political conferences which at the present moment have still not quite succeeded in working out the chain of command and the arrangements for a Mediterranean bloc. At these talks the British have held out for the appointment of a British C.-in-C. over the Mediterranean Command. The appointment of Admiral Fechteler, they said, as 'Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic' caused such a furore in Great Britain that the granting of another vital strategic Command to an American would not be stomached by the British people. The U.S. was prepared at one stage to accept this viewpoint, providing operational control in the area remained in their hands.

The second main difficulty in Washington was over the arrangements for the Eastern Mediterranean. This the British considered to be an exclusively Commonwealth interest, and they suggested that a separate Middle East Treaty Organisation be set up under British leadership. Geographically, of course, such an organisation must include Turkey—the only power in the Middle East with any military forces to speak of—and here the U.S. was able effectively to prevent any such organisation, with Turkish participation, from being established. Turkey refused to enter a British-led combination, and after a declaration of U.S. support, insisted on being allowed to join N.A.T.O. This, the British opposed for a long time but finally, in the course of a general compromise agreement upon the whole question, it was conceded to the U.S.

The *New York Times* military correspondent, Hanson L. Baldwin, in a widely quoted despatch obviously inspired by the Pentagon, gave details on July 21st of the terms of a 'compromise solution' to the Mediterranean command problem. This solution, combined with the other military moves discussed above, turns the Mediterranean into little less than an American lake.

The terms of this latest compromise can be summarised as follows: (1) A Near East 'theatre' including Greece and Turkey would be established under a British Commander, but it would be 'linked' with U.S.-led N.A.T.O. (2) The U.S. Mediterranean Naval Commander Admiral Carney has his jurisdiction extended by the grant of operational authority over U.S. naval forces operating in any

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part of the Mediterranean, including the so-called British Near East ' theatre '. It is specifically stated that the British Near East Command will have no operational authority over U.S. forces in its own area. (3) In exchange for (2) above, the U.S. will 'permit' French, Italian and British naval vessels to ' operate ' in the Western Mediterranean under their own national commanders. (4) The British will be allowed to retain command of Gibraltar.

Such is the depth to which British Imperialism has now fallen in submission to the U.S. that it is apparently willing to accept a U.S. régime over what it regards as a vital strategic area, and a one-time exclusive British preserve.

But what of the peoples of the Middle East and Mediterranean? Are they prepared submissively to enter the war-camp and risk their countries being turned into battlefields without a struggle? Certainly they have not been consulted, but they are making their voices heard just the same. The Middle East is in ferment. There is no space here to give all the details of the rising tide of revolt in the whole area, but sufficient can be stated to indicate that the imperialists may prepare their cut-and-dried schemes, but whether they can put them into practice is quite another question.

The Persian people have set back imperialist calculations a good long way, and may yet do much more in this direction. The Egyptian people have now entered the final stage of their struggle to free their country of foreign troops and to realise their national demands. They will surely reject, too, a strategic scheme which will merely replace British domination by American. In Iraq the movement for peace has, according to the *New York Times*, made ' unexpected headway '. In the Sudan railway and police strikes have frightened the government into the arrest and sentence of the Sudan Peace Committee. In Syria and Lebanon savage repression of the progressive movement has failed to damp its ardour or reduce its activity. In Cyprus, in Morocco, and in the Atlantic Pact countries themselves, the struggle against those who are trying to instigate a new war, is reaching new heights and involving larger and larger numbers of people. This movement may yet serve to remove the U.S. from *Mare Internum* and preserve it for the peaceful occupations of its peoples.

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BACON

Francis Bacon: Philosopher of Industrial Science, by Benjamin Farrington. (198 pp. Lawrence and Wishart, 1951. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

PROFESSOR FARRINGTON has performed a great service in making Francis Bacon's ideas and philosophy intelligible to us at the present day. Many persons have found it difficult to obtain any coherent view of Bacon's thought, partly because of his profuse use of mysterious Latin names to clothe his ideas and partly because there has been a concerted conspiracy by bourgeois interpreters to push to the forefront his contribution to inductive logic to the exclusion of everything else. Bacon is thought of as a courtier, a Lord Chancellor, an essayist, a writer on logic, but not as a man whose whole life, as Farrington points out, was devoted to a great idea. This idea was that knowledge ought to bear fruit in works, that it should be reorganised and developed so as to improve and transform the material conditions of human life by extending men's dominion over nature. Farrington traces the development of this idea throughout Bacon's life and in all his writings, which thus gives a harmonious unity to this well-written book, which, as well as being a biography, analyses the essential features of all Bacon's writings.

It is this analysis which is the special value of this book. It shows us the young Bacon even as a student at Cambridge University, which he entered at the age of 12, rejecting the currently accepted outlook of scholastic philosophy because it was 'barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man'. It shows us how Bacon pursued and extended his main idea through all his lesser writings until he at last was able to outline his plan for the complete renovation of human knowledge in his book the, *Great Instauration.* Farrington devotes a major portion of his study to an analysis of the *Great Instauration* and, incidentally, reveals the serious distortion by which editors of Bacon have picked on a portion of this work, the *Novum Organum* or New Logic, and published it separately as the whole work, whereas Bacon himself even left this unfinished, saying that it was of less importance than the rest. As Farrington says, 'the ringing challenge of the Great Instauration is muffled under the academic cloak of the Novum Organum', while Bacon, the reformer of the material conditions of human life, has been reduced to 'the reformer of the rules of induction'.

Farrington restores to us the full breadth of Bacon's vision and reveals him as a great man, who was in advance of his age, who was the 'herald of the industrial revolution' and of the outlook of science a century or more after him. He is excellent in his positive appreciation of Bacon's ideas and in skilfully hinting at the social and economic background in which these ideas were developed.

But one would have liked to have a closer analysis of the relation of Bacon's ideas to the circumstances of his period. It was the period of the emergence of the new bourgeoisie, the disintegration of the peasantry and the growth of big towns with their proletarianised workers, the period eloquently described by Marx in *Capital* as that of primitive capitalist accumulation. That Bacon was acutely aware of these changing social conditions can be judged from the fact that Marx makes use of Bacon's *History of Henry VII* for his descriptions in *Capital.* It was this new period that called for a new outlook to correspond with the new technical, geographical and scientific discoveries and explains Bacon's fierce criticism

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of mediæval scholastic philosophy which occupied itself with ancient texts instead of going direct to nature.

One could have wished also that Farrington had given us a more critical examination of the Baconian philosophy, which would put it in its place in relation to the development of philosophical thought. It is rather noticeable that in his preface Farrington makes his acknowledgment to Marx as having 'claimed for Francis Bacon his rightful place as the founder of English materialism', but in the whole book there is only one little incidental reference to Marx and nothing at all of the connection between Bacon's thought and English materialism. On the contrary, Farrington goes out of his way to emphasise the 'religious aspect of Bacon's thought' (p. 74) and 'Bacon's dependence on the Bible' (p. 141). More than that, in his only criticism of Bacon's philosophy, Farrington says: 'Bacon's philosophy was, in fact, full of contradictions. We shall mention three. First, he made an absolute division between divine and natural knowledge'. But this is not a ground for a major criticism. On the contrary, this is precisely the advance made by Bacon which cleared the path for the development of materialism. Hence it is that Marx says:

> The real progenitor of English materialism is Bacon. To him natural philosophy is the only true philosophy, and physics based upon the experience of the senses is the chiefest part of natural philosophy. . . All science is based on experience, and consists in subjecting the data furnished by the senses to a rational method of investigation. (Quoted by Engels in the Introduction to the English Edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Marx and Engels, Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 89.)

Precisely by relegating theology to a place outside the sphere of philosophy and scientific knowledge, Bacon made a step forward which led straight to the position of the 18th century French materialists.

Farrington's second criticism is that Bacon 'accepted a self-contradictory view of the human soul', sometimes putting the human soul on a par with the souls of animals and sometimes asserting a difference of kind between them. The third contradiction arises, according to Farrington, from Bacon's notion of a higher state of human wisdom in remote antiquity contrasting with his assertion that modern times are wiser than the old. Both these criticisms seem to be irrelevant to the main characteristics of Bacon's philosophy. For a real criticism of it we should again turn to Marx and Engels, who repeatedly pointed out that the analysis of Nature into its individual parts was a necessary preliminary to an understanding of Nature.

> But this method of work has also left us as a legacy the habit of observing natural objects and processes in isolation . . . of observing them in repose, not in motion . . . in their death, not in their life. And when this way of looking at things was transferred by Bacon and Locke from natural science to philosophy, it begot the narrow, metaphysical mode of thought peculiar to the last century. (Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Marx and Engels, Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 119-120.)

Bacon was the progenitor of English materialism but his was a metaphysical materialism which treated nature as static and did not look on things in their origin, development and historical connections. Farrington devotes a chapter to Bacon's New Logic in which he gives a good idea of its 'varied and stimulating contents'. But, while attempting to summarise Bacon's own account of his inductive method, he does not

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make any criticism of it, other than that Bacon was under an illusion as to the size and complexity of the universe. Here again it would have been useful to note what Engels has written of the limitations of the inductive method, which makes it inadequate for a dialectical materialist. Even the crude empiricism on which it is based, with Bacon's emphasis on 'experiment' as the sole method of acquiring knowledge of nature, in contrast to the dialectical criterion of human practice, leads Bacon to believe in recipes for making gold, just as it led later empiricists to believe in spiritualism and other absurdities, as pointed out by Engels in *Dialectics of Nature*.

It is true that Farrington remarks that 'if we are interested in the problems Bacon left unresolved, we have no recourse but to study the whole development of science and philosophy in the three hundred years since his death'. This is wise advice but we would have been even more grateful to Professor Farrington than we are already if he had applied the fruits of his own study of that development in examining, not so much the problems Bacon left unresolved, as those that Bacon actually tackled.

CLEMENS DUTT.

POLAND

Eyewitness: Reports from Trade Union Delegates recently returned from a visit to Poland. (84 pp. British-Polish Friendship Society, 9*d*.)

WHEN I was in Poland in the summer I heard quite a lot about a trade union delegation that had preceded me in a visit to Warsaw, Cracow and Zakopane. The Polish comrades to whom I spoke were strongly impressed with the representative character of the delegation and the deep and intelligent interest its members took in the various aspects of Polish life and work. Now I have read the report of this delegation and I also am impressed by its representative character and by all its members have to say about what they saw and what they heard. *Eyewitness* is well worth reading, well worth talking about. Take the make-up. Here is what the report itself says, 'Fifty-two representatives of Executive Committees, District and Area Committees as well as union branches and the factory bench were represented'. I believe that is one of the biggest and most representative delegations yet. Like everyone else who has visited Poland, they pay high tribute to the mighty work of reconstruction that is being carried through and the care that is shown for the health of the workers and their families. They visited factories and factory creches as well as children's sanatoria and they have the highest praise for the care that is taken of the children. There is no problem of juvenile delinquency in Poland. It is a country where the young people get increasing opportunity and with opportunity, responsibility. As L. A. Leads (one of the delegates) says, 'It is apparent the whole future of the country is in the hands of the young people'.

Other individual reports are under such headings as 'Poland is building Socialism'; 'Results are astounding'; 'Power of the Unions'; 'Desire for Peace' and so on; every individual report with its own particular viewpoint and interest. There is much that I would like to quote but I'll content myself with this from E. Marsden (E.C. of Constructional Engineering Union). His section, by the way, is headed 'I was amazed'. Here is the quote:

> Taking everything into consideration, the standard of living of the Polish people compares favourably with ours, which is really remarkable when one realises that before the war she was probably one of the most backward countries in Europe and that during the war

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she suffered tremendous destruction from the Germans.

I think it would be very useful if someone would work out a chart showing the relative positions of living standards here and in Poland for the period before the war and the upward or downward trends since the war ended. I'll bet it would make some of our lads sit up. In the meantime to all readers of the *Labour Monthly* I heartily commend this report. Carry it with you wherever you go.

W. GALLACHER.

THE NEW MAN

Far From Moscow, by V. Azhayev. (1,428 pp. Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow; Collet's, London, 12*s.* 6*d.*)

THE more one considers the development of the Soviet Novel and compares it with what has been happening in, say, British and American literature over the same thirty odd years, the more one is struck by the breadth, variety, and richness of the Soviet forms, and the more one feels the decline of the Novel in the contrasted spheres. It is not that the British and American areas have lacked fine talents, or have failed to produce striking works now and then; but the fine talents have had to struggle under the intolerable burden of a decaying society, and have in no case been able to develop their full potentialities. On the other hand, in the Soviet Union, we see a steady enrichment, in which each achievement lays the basis for a further stable advance. And this advance, while ceaselessly drawing on the pre-socialist cultural heritage, on the national classics, has been moving all the while into new dimensions, tackling problems which were ignored or only partially confronted in all previous literatures.

Many recent critical articles in the Soviet Union have stressed the rôle of the labour-process in Soviet literature, and have pointed out that only a socialist culture such as that of the U.S.S.R. can depict work as a source of happiness, as something integrally related to the whole emotional lives of people and liberating their full powers of personality. And indeed in this point we have the key to the nature of Soviet literature, its element of deep novelty which so many of our critics have been unable to recognise or understand. 'Innovation' is again a theme much discussed in literary criticism in the U.S.S.R.; but those who think of experiment or innovation in literature as something purely formal, concerned only with manipulations of the medium of expression, are unable to grasp what is being talked about. By innovation the Soviet critics mean the development of methods able to express the new unity of theory and practice, the new way in which the labour-process emerges as the organising centre of collective and individual life.

One way or another this problem has been present in Soviet literature from the outset, and has received varying treatment according to the general level of socialisation achieved, and the approach of each individual author. But with the stabilisation of socialism and the movement into communism, it reaches a new intensity, a new breadth of comprehension. In the post-war novels it appears more and more

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securely at the heart of the picture of Soviet society in movement; and no single novel better sums up this phase than *Far from Moscow*.

Azhayev, born in 1915, is one of the writers who have grown up under socialism; and the creation of an epical method in his long novel is an excellent example of the way in which the virtues of the national classics have been absorbed by Soviet culture and reorientated to the tasks of defining a socialist society, its struggles and triumphant forward-movement. Here is the novel to read if you wish to get right inside the deepest currents of post-war Soviet life. The novel itself is set during the war-period, and deals with the strains and successes on the industrial front at that time; but the artistic focus, the sustained power of expression, represent the post-war gains as the Soviet people break through into new levels of productive energy and organisation.

The theme is the laying of a pipe-line across the taiga and then over a dangerous strait to an island of oil-wells. Under the war-pressures the leisurely plan drawn up before 1941 is scrapped; and by a mixture of careful but bold reorganisation-plans with a reliance on the powers of socialist experience and morale to tackle all sorts of sudden emergencies, the line is built. The story of this fight is intensely interesting in itself; but it would fail to be socialist literature unless every aspect of the technical battle was shown in its human aspects, as a renewal of life, as a sharp struggle between individuals and as a sharp struggle inside them as well—so that at the end we have witnessed not only a great triumph of socialist construction, but also the innermost conflict whereby men are regenerated, lifted to new heights, endowed with new powers.

This is the great innovation of Azhayev's novel, the fundamental novelty of all Soviet expression. *The Times Literary Supplement*, to belittle its grandeur, argued that the characters were types, not individuals. It thus selected one aspect of Azhayev's work, his capacity to define people in the grand manner—a capacity almost entirely lost in our own novels—and abstracted this element of greatness in the novel as a fault. But in fact the solid typicality of the people is achieved precisely because they are at the same time subtly defined individuals. Again, even a sympathetic critic in *Europe* spoke of the naïvety of some of the love-scenes. But there is nothing naïve in this profound book. What might superficially be taken as such is its power to depict the emotional stress in people who are compressing centuries of development into a few tumultuous socialist years. Surviving elements from pre-socialist peasant days jostle the most advanced socialist elements, and yet coalesce in the New Man. The 'naïve' aspects are thus in the last resort one facet of the complexity of the picture given, its vast span.

It is no accident that this epical novel deals with experiences in the Far East of the U.S.S.R. There, in what was under the Tsars a hopelessly backward area, socialist construction assumes its starkest and most simply heroic forms, and it is there that the social leap is most extreme. (For instance in a novel like *Alitet takes to the Hills* we meet tribal soviets and the transformation of a primitive community *direct* into socialism.) Hence the problem of achieving socialist construction in such a setting begets on the one hand the greatest of strains and on the other the greatest of results.

All this gigantic process—of engineering construction and of human development—is caught and expressed in Azhayev's novel within a single focus. Once that point is realised, we grasp the essential greatness of Soviet culture and see the way in which it is continually breaking into new dimensions of the spirit.

JACK LINDSAY.

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MARX ON CHINA

Marx on China, with an Introduction by Dona Torr. (98 and xxiv pp. Lawrence and Wishart, 8*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS collection of articles written by Marx for the *New York Daily Tribune* is both a splendid example of working-class journalism—digging out the facts from the material available, insisting, when the facts were not otherwise explicable, that 'there must exist secret papers' (as indeed there did)—and at the same time a valuable source on the pre-history of the Chinese revolution.

The articles were written between 1853 and 1860. They look back on the First Opium War and cover the greater part of the Second. In them Marx lights up both the villainies and the frustrations of that pre-imperialist British capitalism. He shows how quarrels were picked and peaceful cities bombarded on Palmerston's orders, and he also shows the full irony of the 'civilisation war' which finally opened up China to Western exploitation.

A little less than seventy years later, Stalin, writing of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, could say: 'The point is that the rule of imperialism in China is manifested not only in its military power but above all in that the foreign imperialists have the power of disposal over the main threads of industry in China'. It has been a long story. The Introduction points forward to Mao's 'Our nation will never again be an insulted nation. We have stood up'. Marx's articles help us to understand both how the Chinese were insulted and why it has been a long story. The opening up of China led to the creation of an industrial working class, which already in the Great Revolution of 1925-7 carried the main burden of the fight against foreign imperialism; and which later built up the Red Army and the alliance with the peasantry. It was this alliance, led by the workers, which routed the Japanese and today is leading New China, an independent country of 475 million.

The book is excellently edited, with footnotes which clarify without overburdening, a summary of events, and an introduction which, incidentally, in explaining briefly the state of English politics which rendered Palmerston's 'dictatorship' possible, makes one long for a fuller study of that period. There is one mistake, not in the book but on the jacket. Not all the articles are now republished for the first time. The first one in the book was republished in the *Labour Monthly* in March, 1926.

E. R. ENGLAND.

WORLD CHESS CHAMPION

One Hundred Selected Games by M. M. Botvinnik. (272 pp. MacGibbon and Kee, Ltd. 18*s.*)

LIKE the author's previous book, *Championship Chess,* this is a work for the connoisseur. These deeply annotated games of the World Champion against internationally famous players will bear comparison with any similar collection. Covering the years 1926-46, they not only illustrate Botvinnik's increasing mastery but mark also the progress of the Soviet school of chess. To this subject indeed he devotes a special introduction of great interest, dealing with those features which have raised the creative art of chess to a higher level in the U.S.S.R. than anywhere else in the world.

The presentation and accuracy of the printed games and analyses is admirable, but the translator is not fully acquainted with chess terminology. Thus he writes 'zugszwang' for 'zugzwang'; throughout he says White castles 'short' or 'long' instead of on the King's side or Queen's side, and on p. 168 he says White's QB pawns will be 'parted' when he means 'undoubled'.

C.P.D.

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Shorter Notices

Peekskill: U.S.A. by Howard Fast. (127 pp. Civil Rights Congress, New York; Collet's, London. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

PEEKSKILL is a name which has gone round the world. It signifies officially inspired and condoned violence towards progressives in the U.S.A. It stands for the struggle, heroism and power of spontaneous organisation of the American working class against that violence. Howard Fast, a witness and participant in the battles of Peekskill, has written a brilliant report of the whole episode, vivid and authentic as a documentary film—those two week-ends of savagery when it was felt and decided (and disproved) that the time and place were right for a crippling blow against freedom in the United States, and in particular against America's greatest champion of freedom, Paul Robeson. This book itself is a weapon in the struggle that goes on.

A.G.P.

Albania, by Pierre Courtade. (68 pp. Fore Publications. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS short travel record is a very useful contribution to the literature on the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. Albania, least known of these countries, ranks among the most slandered in the capitalist press. Courtade, recounting his interviews and discussions with all types of people on his recent visit there, gives us a glimpse of the long struggle against feudal landowners and foreign imperialists. He tells of the Partisan achievements in the war against the Axis; of the attempts of Tito to return Albania to its old colonial status when the war was over; and of the amazing progress made by the people in building an industry and popular government in what was once the most economically and politically backward country of Europe.

The short novel, translated from the Albanian, included in this narrative, shows the background of old feudal Albania on which the achievements of the new People's state can better be appreciated.

JAMES KLUGMANN.

Correction

Owing to a mishap in the printshop, the 7th and 8th lines of the article 'Road to Economic Ruin' by Richard Bright, on p. 474, were transposed to become lines 13 and 14 of the concluding paragraph of 'The Left at Blackpool' by Quaestor which ended on the same page.

Cold War in Germany, by W. G. Burchett, reviewed by Gordon Schaffer in the October issue: price should have been 10*s.*

BOOKS

American Economy. A. T. Youngson-Brown. Geo. Allen and Unwin. 208 pp. 15*s.*
Principles of Private and Public Planning. Wilhelm Keilhau. Geo. Allen and Unwin. 272 pp. 16*s.*
Report to the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B.) on the Work of the Central Committee. J. Stalin. Foreign Languages Publishing House. Moscow, 102 pp. 9d.
The Proletarian Heritage. Frederick Longden. Strickland Press. 182 pp. 6*s.* 6d.
The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo. Edited by Piero Srafa. Cambridge University Press. Vols. I and II. 448 and 464 pp. 24*s.* each.

PAMPHLETS

Results of the First Year of the Five-Year Plan. Erno Goro. Hungarian News and Information Service. 24 pp. 4d.
How the Italian Metal Workers Ran the Factories. International Bulletin of Metal and Engineering Workers. 24 pp. 6d.
Oil is Inflammable. Harold Davies, M.P. Union of Democratic Control. 16 pp. 8d.
Africa and the Future. Rev. Geo. Norton. Union of Democratic Control. 16 pp. 6d.
Japanese Ally. Basil Davidson. Union of Democratic Control. 12 pp. 6d.
Russia, the Truth. Report of T.U. Delegation to U.S.S.R., 1951. 72 pp. 1*s.*
Shvernik Replies to Truman. Soviet News. 12 pp. 1d.
Soviet Union in the Struggle for Peace. Speeches of A. A. Gromyko, Y. A. Malik. 'Pravda' Editorial. 'Soviet News'. 24 pp. 1d.

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best record of new readers won before November 30. Candidates should send all particulars, describing difficulties faced and overcome. It is the example which inspires others, not necessarily the big results, which will win. One candidate I have in mind already: a young hospital worker, active in the movement since he was 16, with an impressive record of trade union recruitment. By the same post came an account of his doings; with two others to help, in a difficult area, he recorded 'six new readers since June — and another today. R.P.D.'s Notes, the Unjust Society, are so astoundingly clear that I have written off for three more copies. Could we have a few back numbers for specimens?' Another who has often figured at the top of our Third Division is 'London Engineer'. He has changed his job to a factory 'with a long record of trade union and labour movement activity; so of course *L.M.* is not unknown there. But I'm determined to find someone on the night shift who doesn't read it yet'.

The fund this month looks hale and hearty, due largely to one or two big donations. Among them a big new regular, H.J. He 'hopes it won't encourage people to feel that there is a very big gold mine somewhere which will absolve them from doing their bit to keep this splendid *L.M.* not only afloat but forging ahead'. Match that with the Clapham old age pensioner 'unable now, on 26s. a week, to develop a donation', and the only gold mine we own is revealed: the goodwill and sacrifice of our readers. The September total is

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